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# The Voice of the Turtle

NORTH AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS

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Cover Coin: Reverse: Silver issue of Cyme in Aeolis. After 190 B.C. Tames stallion symbolizing the river Xanthos. Inscr. KYMAION and in the exergue METROPHANES. Pozzi 2298-2300, BMC 74. Photo courtesy Herb Brabandt

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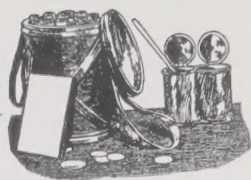
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## From the Editor's Desk



The Roman As of the Republic bore the likeness of Janus, a god peculiar to Rome and not part of the Greek Pantheon, a god whose countenance faced in two directions. It was the first month of the year, January, to which he gave his name and it was the doors of his temple which were closed when the Roman State was at peace. He was the god of comings and goings, of beginnings and endings — the god who could at once look forward and into the past.

Classical studies, even if confined solely to a specialty, must inevitably compel a perception of history in a sensitive man. Thus it is that the panoply of man becomes a part of the individual — and to such the events of our own day establish themselves in the context of the whole story of humankind.

This little coin of Janus, which has itself existed since the second century BC has seen much. One wonders if, at the time of its minting, it could have forseen Sulla, or Julius, — Augustus and the Empire — the fall of the West and its subsequent phoenix-like resurrection in its own ashes. One wonders what this inscrutable god must think of century number 20 which has now passed about two thirds of its allotted time in the great Chronograph of history.

Could Janus have forseen, only 66 years ago, what has resulted from the experiments of those two balmy brothers in Dayton, Ohio — or the mad Italian Marconi — or what would flow from the fertile mind of Einstein?

Could Janus have forseen the mad dogs which were loosed upon this troubled planet, the uprooting of all life, the destruction of most of what man has built slowly through the centuries?

Man, circa 1966, stands both in awe and fear. He has taken his environment and remade it in his own image — the image of man which is at once of glory and of despair. Man seeks to control his universe but cannot yet control himself. At one time the man who reached too far was characterized as "reaching for the moon." Now, man does not reach for the moon, he rather has planned a determined assault on that satellite and that is only the beginning of his dreams. Yet somehow, man can not restrain himself from lifting up his



hand against his brother.

The Empire of the men who worshipped Janus has long since passed away. Its going shocked the world, but man survived, and has, we trust, built better upon those foundations than the Romans themselves could have conceived.

As the year 1966 draws to an end and as a new year begins with the month of Janus and men are led to reflect on themselves and their places in the cosmos perhaps all that was Roman has not yet passed away. Perhaps this one god, who is also concerned with peace and war, can not join the Pantheon of his departed brothers and sisters on far Olympus until for one last time the gates of his temple are closed.

JOHN E. HARTMANN, *Editor*

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### **THE TURTLE VS. PONY EXPRESS**

Rather than answering each letter individually concerning the slowness of the *Turtle*, we hope that the following letter to the editor clipped from the Chicago Tribune, Dec. 5, 1966, will do the job for us.

"It is interesting to compare postal service in this year of the Great Society with the days of the pony express.

"On April 3, 1860, the pony express began carrying mail from St. Joseph, Mo. to San Francisco, Cal. On April 18 that mail was delivered at Sacramento, Cal. and was placed on a riverboat for next day delivery in San Francisco. Total time, St. Joseph to San Francisco, 11 days.

"On November 2, 1966, an important business document was mailed from Neenah Wisconsin, to me in San Francisco. It was correctly addressed (including zip code) and carried the proper postage. It was delivered in San Francisco November 18. Total time, Neenah to San Francisco, 16 days.

"On November 2, 1966 a copy of the same document, (again correctly addressed and stamped) was also mailed to my office in Wilmette, Illinois. This piece of mail arrived Nov. 16. Total time, Neenah to Wilmette, 14 days."

So, please don't write to the publishers. Write your congressmen. The mail described above was first class. The *Turtle* is second class and gets less preferential treatment.

## COIN CLIPPING IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD I — PART II

By ANDY SINGER

(Continued from November *VOT*, Vol. V, No. 11, p. 330)

The measures adopted to cope with clipping appear to have worked reasonably well, since there are few references to that crime in the years closely following 1247. In 1251 Henry issued a reminder to his earls, especially to the earl of Northumbria, that only the king's new money was to circulate, and not Scottish or any other foreign currencies.<sup>25</sup> The final directives of Henry III concerning the coin of the realm came in July 1270, when he appointed Bartholomew de Castello warden of the exchange and ordered him to "check out all the money and arrest the bad money." All the sheriffs and bailiffs were ordered to assist the warden and to arrest clippers along with the evidence of their crime.<sup>26</sup>

After the death of Henry III and the succession of Edward I, seven years were to pass before the new king ordered a change in the coinage. The continuation of a coinage from an earlier reign was not without precedent, since Richard I and John had not deviated from the type of Henry II even so much as to add their own names to the coins. It has been suggested that the long carry-over of Henry III's coinage into the reign of Edward may have been due to the prolonged efforts of the king's council to arrive at a substantial solution to the renewed problem of clipping, and for making other improvements on the coinage. During the period 1271-1279, "much is heard of clipping and of prosecutions of the Jews, who were made scapegoats for the public indignation at the bad condition of the coin."<sup>27</sup>

The first mention of clipping in the reign of Edward I is made in the Close Rolls (14 June 1275), whereby the sheriff of Kent is ordered to release to their mainpernors two men who have been caught in possession of clipped silver.<sup>28</sup> In December 1276 a commission of *over et terminer* was issued to John de Lovetot and Gregory de Rokesle "touching Jews and Christians in the city of London who clip the coin, and Christian accomplices who exchange the clipped coins for

25. *Close Rolls: Henry III*, v. VI., p. 349.

26. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Henry III*, P. R. O., v. VI., pp. 2, 438.

27. Brooks, *op.cit.*, pp. 109, 116.

28. *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Edward I*, P.R.O., v. I., p. 188.



whole coins."<sup>29</sup> Clipping must have been growing more flagrant, because the commission of *oyer et terminer* was generally issued only for the more serious and spontaneous situations. The public was certainly aware of the growing corruption of the coin and raised an outcry, directed in particular against the Jews, who they thought might be the most responsible party.

It is quite understandable that the Jews were the primary target of those outraged by clipping. Edward was not prone to follow a policy of toleration and during the first few years of his reign the Jews were subjected to both religious and economic persecution. In 1275 Edward forbade the Jews to lend money on usury, thus depriving them of one of their main sources of revenue. Assigned to live within certain "Jewries" within the walls of the cities, it was difficult for the Jews to take up agriculture; it was even more impossible for them to engage in craft and mercantile activities, toward which they had some motivation, because of the church related nature of the guild system and its organization. With no means of livelihood at their disposal, it is no wonder that many Jews took to clipping the coin. The example set by the Jew was often followed by the Christian, and there were increasing arrests for clipping after 1275.<sup>30</sup>

While many Jews actually were guilty of the crimes of corrupting the money, an even greater number were falsely accused of clipping by Christians who wished to vent their animosity toward the minority group. Most of the complaints against clipping contain invectives against the Jews, but the Christians who practiced clipping and were equally guilty, were seldom mentioned. A classic example of a false accusation is found in the Patent Rolls (18 January 1278) whereby Roger de Norwode and Bartholomew de Briaunzun were granted a commission to:

"inquire into the plaint of Manser, son of Aaron, a Jew of London, that a portion of clipped coin, with the forceps employed in clipping it, tied up in a cloth was maliciously thrown onto the top of his house in the city of London and found there, by reason of which he was imprisoned on suspicion, and has prayed for an inquiry as to the parties who were guilty of the clipping and throw-

29. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward I*, P.R.O., v. I., p. 236.

30. Kenneth H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, vol. III of *A History of England*, 7 vols., Charles Oman, ed. (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1930), p. 35.



ing or placing the clipped coin where it was found.”<sup>31</sup>

In the summer of 1278 the growing number of clipped coins and increased accusations against the Jews brought the matter before the parliament held at Gloucester during July and August. The parliament initiated an inquiry regarding the issue and investigations were begun immediately.<sup>32</sup> The net result of the accusations and the investigations was that in one day, 17 November 1278, all the Jews of the kingdom were imprisoned for clipping.<sup>33</sup>

The Jews imprisoned in London were brought to trial in London Gildhall before Stephen de Pevencestre, the constable of Dover castle and the warden of the Cinque Ports, Walter of Helyun, a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, John of Cobham, a baron of the exchequer and justice of the King's Bench, and their associates.<sup>34</sup> On the Monday following Epiphany (1279) between 280 and 300 and three Christians, goldsmiths who had been taken into custody at the same time as the Jews, were drawn (*tractati*) and hanged (*suspensi*) after being found guilty as charged. There were similar events in other parts of the kingdom.<sup>35</sup> Thomas Wykes comment on the proceedings is that “nescio si juste vel injuste” — he was uncertain of their legality.<sup>36</sup> The fact that only three Christians were executed leads one to the same conclusion as Wykes; two chronicles also note that more goldsmiths should have been punished by the court.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of the arrests and hangings, clipping continued and the false accusations against the Jews became so flagrant that on 7 May 1279 Edward intervened and declared that no new accusations would be entertained.<sup>38</sup> While Edward did not improve the condi-

31. *Patent Rolls: Edward I*, v. I., p. 285.

32. Fox, *op.cit.*, v. VII. (1910), p. 97.

33. *Annales de Dunstapleia*, in *Annales Monastici*, *op.cit.*, v. III., p. 279; *Annales de Wigornia*, in *ibid.*, v. IV., p. 474; Walter of Guisborough, *Chronicle*, Henry Rothwell ed. (London: The Camden Society, 1957), p. 216. The latter two sources both give the date as 14 December, rather than as above.

34. *Annales Londonienses*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and II*, R. S. 76, v. I., p. 88; *Croniques de London*, George James Aungier ed. (London, The Camden Society, 1844), pp. 15-16.

35. *Flores Historiarum*, *op. cit.*, v. III., p. 52; *Annales Londonienses*, *loc. cit.*, reports 293 Jews hung; *Croniques de London*, *op. cit.*, reports 293 Jews hung, and p. 16 n. reports 283; *Annales de Dunstapleia*, *loc.cit.*, 280. All say 3 Christians.

36. Thomas Wykes, *Chronicon*, in *Annales Monastici*, *op.cit.*, v. IV., pp. 278-279.

37. *Annales de Dunstapleia*, *loc. cit.*; Capgrave, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

38. Fox, *loc.cit.*

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tion of his coin by allowing the Jews to be tried, his treasury managed to take in £11,000 in fines and in receipts from the sale of the property and goods of the executed Jews.<sup>39</sup>

After the arrests of 1278, Edward took other measures to thwart clipping. On 7 December he ordered the barons and the bailiffs of the port of Winchelsea to search all native and foreign merchants and other Christians and Jews passing through the port, and to arrest any who were found in possession of clipped money or clippings.<sup>40</sup> On 4 January 1279 John Bek and his associates were appointed to hear and determine trespasses of the king's money and a clerk was appointed receiver of all evidence collected by Bek. On the following day Pevencestre, Cobham, and Helyum were granted commissions of *oyer et terminer* touching clippers, exchangers or buyers of clippings, and those who would enter the houses of imprisoned Jews with the intent to steal. This order was extended to all the sheriffs of England. In April the above three men received a mandate to "hear and determine pleas of coin."<sup>41</sup> This active policy was certainly more beneficial to Edward than one of persecuting the Jews along prejudicial lines.

In August 1279 the council finally concluded that a new coinage was in order. For the new issues the weight was to be reduced from twenty-two and one-half grains to twenty-two and one-quarter grains as a means of producing the revenue that would be necessary for making the change and redeeming the old currency over the next year. Two new values were immediately added, followed by a third new value one year later: a groat of four pence, weighing eighty-nine grains, and a round farthing, plus a round halfpenny in 1280. The groat was authorized so as to compete with the *gros* that had appeared in France under Louis IX, and the halfpenny and farthing were made round to discourage clipping. The farthing was to contain sufficient alloy to increase its weight to a disproportionately high 6.85 grains: the added alloy would supposedly facilitate minting the small coin. However, at Christmas, 1280, the heavy farthing was dropped in favor of one weighing 5.51 grains, the reduction from the true weight of 5.55 grains providing the extra revenue to meet production costs. Furthermore, the administration governing the mints was reorganized, creating a master-worker or Master of the

39. Herbert Allen Seaby, ed., *Notes on English Silver Coins, 1066-1648* (London, B. A. Seaby, Ltd., 1848), p. 19 n.

40. *Close Rolls: Edward I*, v. I, 518.

41. *Patent Rolls: Edward I*, v. I, pp. 297, 312, 338.

Mint who was given the responsibility formerly divided among the numerous moneyers.<sup>42</sup> Gregory de Rokesle, the mayor of London, became the first Master of the Mint in 1279.<sup>43</sup>

Just as in 1247, many of the contemporary chroniclers and annalists made note of the new coinage, correctly attributing the change as having been necessitated by clipping. The sole entry for 1278 in the "Wroxham continuation" in "Peter of Ickham"<sup>44</sup> reports that "After this the king caused his coinage to be changed, which at this time was everywhere shamefully clipped." Pierre de Langtoft, who is quoted in the "Wroxham continuation" and in Robert de Brunne's metrical chronicle, gives a good description of the coinage reform in his *Chronicle*:

"Le rays sun chemyun devers Lundres reprent Fet sa monoye chaunger, ke fut trop vilement Roygne de tuz pars, la plainte li veent eut. De roynurs sunt traynez les uns, le altre peut. Esterling, maylle, ferthing, fet forger roundement Et gros tornays Englays, ke valent verrayment Quatre esterlyns en achete et vent."<sup>45</sup>

Writing in 1279, the annalist at Bury St. Edmunds observed that:

"There was an alteration of the coinage of England. The triangular farthing was replaced by a round one. Nevertheless the old coin, which until then had been lawful, was not forbidden to circulate with the new. Another innovation was the total abolition of half-pennies and the minting of a new large penny equivalent to four."

In 1280 Bury was granted a new die and began to mint the new money on the feast of SS John and Paul. The annalist adds that "Everyone was forbidden to buy and sell with the old currency after Assumption day" (15 August), and "New round halfpennies were minted."<sup>46</sup>

Other contemporary writings mention that the money had undergone a change, and that round halfpennies and farthings had replaced the cut ones: however, some of the chronicles fail to mention that the halfpenny did not make its debut until the farthing had already been in circulation for about one year. More specifically, the *Annales de Dunstapleia*

42. Brooks, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-117.

43. *Annales Londonienses*, *loc.cit.*

44. *Le Livre de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre*, R. S. 42, p. 303. Peter of Ickham is the supposed author.

45. Pierre de Langtoft, *Chronicle*, R.S. 47, v. II., p. 172.

46. *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, *op.cit.*, pp. 70,72.



mention that the old money would be current for one year and that bad pennies would pass for a halfpenny during the same period. John Capgrave, writing in the fifteenth century, notes that an ancient prophecy of Merlin had come true, that when the king should make his money round, Wales would fall: it was at this time that Edward was in the process of conquering that principality.<sup>47</sup>

Before the new money was put into circulation, Edward I gave strict orders that clipped or falsified coins were no longer to be used. On 4 June 1279, anticipating the upcoming exchange, the king sent whole and unclipped coin of the old type to ten places where it was to be exchanged for clipped coins. The first exchange took place on 4 August and any old money that was recirculated was allowed to remain current for one year. The average loss of sixteen pence per pound in the exchange caused some suffering, but the clipped money was removed from circulation, melted, and converted into the new types.<sup>48</sup>

After the new money was in circulation, Edward made the following declaration for its protection:

“Memorandum that it be proclaimed throughout the whole realm that there be no clipping of the new money on peril of life and limb and forfeiture of all lands and tenements and all goods and chattels by whomsoever shall have been convicted thereof by judgement of the Lord King’s Court. And the king will forbid any clipping of the said money under the aforesaid penalties. And the king likewise will forbid that anyone receive the said money being clipped under the aforesaid penalties.”<sup>49</sup>

47. *Annales Monastici*, *op.cit.*, c. II., p. 391, v. III., pp. 280-281, v. IV., p. 477; Walter of Guisborough, *loc. cit.*; *Flores Historiarum*, *op.cit.*, v. III., p. 53; John Capgrave, *op.cit.*, p. 165; Bartholomew Cotton, *op.cit.*, pp. 159-160. Citton is the only one of the above sources to mention the groat, or “denarius magnus” as he refers to it.

48. Wykes, *Annales Monastici*, *op.cit.*, v. IV., p. 280; Fox, *op.cit.*, v. VIII., p. 98.

49. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, R. S. 99, v. III., p. 982; this translation is given in Fox, *op.cit.*, v. VII., p. 103.

(to be continued)

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## THREE COUNTER-MARKED SASSANID COINS

RAYMOND J. HEBERT

In the author's collection are three Sassanid silver coins which are noteworthy for the countermarks they bear: one in Ephthalite script and six in what is apparently Pahlevi script. All were purchased in Iran.

No. 1. A holed and clipped drachm of *Khusro II* (590-627 A.D.) with the mint signature PL (Fil?)<sup>1</sup> of the year NVJVIST (29)<sup>2</sup> having a diameter of 29 mm. and weighing 2.77 g. The countermark (see Fig. A) at 2:30 o'clock seems to be a variant of Walker's no. 38.<sup>3</sup>

No. 2. A drachm identifiable as De Morgan's type 1 of *Piruz* (457-483 A.D.) with the mint signature unread<sup>1</sup> and the date M. having a diameter of 27.5 mm. and weighing 3.34 g. The legend to the right of the king seems to be KDY PRVJY. It has two countermarks: (B) at 6:00 o'clock and (C) at 2:00 o'clock.



Obverse

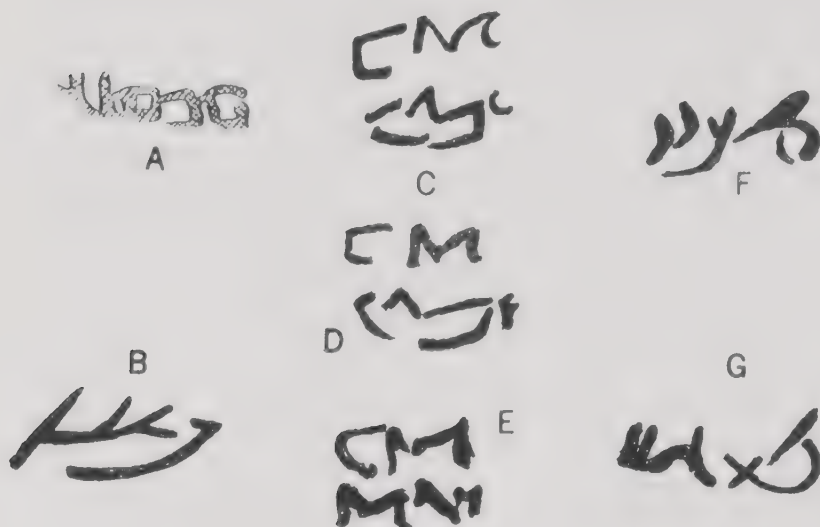


Reverse



No. 3. A drachm identifiable as De Morgan's type 2 of *Piruz*<sup>3</sup> with the mint signature NH (Nihavand in Jibal Province) and the date M.<sup>6</sup> having a diameter of 27 mm. and weighing 3.35 g. The legend to the right of the king is barbaric and remains unread. It has four countermarks: (D) at 6:00 o'clock.

(E) at 1:00 o'clock (F) at 9:00 o'clock and (G) at 3:00 o'clock.



I have not been successful in finding anywhere examples of similar countermarks to those of coins 2 and 3. Although the script seems to be Pahlevi, countermarks C, D, and E leave me unsure. My lack of competence in this area prevents me from making a positive statement. It would appear that C and D are variants of the same countermark, while E, although superficially similar, seems to be different.

Possibly countermark F should be read *TSA*. As for G, at least one of the letters seems to be H. The first letter might be L R. Probably countermark B begins with B and ends in S.

Could these coins have been part of the tribute<sup>7</sup> paid by *Piruz* to the Hephthalites as ransom for his son?

<sup>1</sup> John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, pp. cxxv-cxxvi, mint signature no. 47; J. De Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, p. 298, mint signature no. 12 read as PR, FR Ferghana (?) (Fars).

<sup>2</sup> Walker, *ibid.*, p. clvii

<sup>3</sup> Walker, *ibid.*, p. cxlv

<sup>4</sup> De Morgan, p. 319

<sup>5</sup> De Morgan, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Walker, *ibid.*, pp. cxxiii-cxxiv, mint signature 43a; De Morgan, *ibid.*, p. 298, no. 14

<sup>7</sup> Christensen, Arthur, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 293



# THE HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS OF A BYZANTINE COIN HOARD FROM DOBRUJA: IV

JOEL L. MALTER

(Continued from October *VOT* Vol. V, No. 10, p. 307)

## THE GOLD JEWELRY

- A. *Gold earring*. c.950-1050 AD Weight 72.5 g. Thickness, 5 mm. Diameter 52 mm. Tsodory, p. 515, nos. 5, 6.
- B. *Gold earring*. Weight 17.0 g. Thickness 3 mm. Diameter 35 mm.
- C. *Gold finger ring* Weight 16.0 g. Thickness 2 mm. Diameter 30 mm.

No source such as Teodory describes a finger ring such as this. The large earrings have been described amply by Teodory. The style of the ring is similar to the earrings and was probably made in the same period. The symmetrical pattern of the dots on the ring is similar to the ornamentation seen on Byzantine coins.

The coins themselves present nothing new in the way of types or die varieties. The majority of the coins are quite common and most likely made their way to Kalipetrovo via the "five links" to which Metcalf alludes and which were listed above. Perhaps the only exceptions to this are the coins in the hoard of the reigns of Maurice Tiberius and earlier which may have entered the Danubian area with the Byzantine Army before the revolt led by Phocas and the subsequent return of the army to Constantinople in 602. The coin of Romanus III which may have made its way to the Silistra area via the Illyrian Coast is another remote exception to the "five link" theory. In 1041, a large shipment of gold coins of Romanus III was lost in a shipwreck.<sup>36</sup> Some of the coins were eventually found inland, and it is conceivable that the specimen in this hoard was from the original shipwreck.<sup>37</sup> The hoard, by its lack of specimens representing the period from 654 through the eighth century, lends a bit more support to the weak theory of Kazhdan who believes that there was an urban decline in the Balkans during the seventh century as evidenced by the lack of gold and bronze coins of the period.<sup>38</sup>

One of the most important aspects of the coins is the fact

<sup>36</sup> Metcalf, pp. 48-49, and the note on p. 49.

<sup>37</sup> Although remotely possible for the coin to have circulated so far north, it is really most unlikely.

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that all show signs of circulation wear. Even the finest coins in the hoard have slight wear on the high spots. Many of the Byzantine gold coins that are found in hoards contain predominantly mint, fleur de coin specimens or coins with very little wear. Many such hoards are from military rogs, ransoms, and perhaps tax payments—all of which were hidden during some period of danger which required the safeguarding of valuables. As the coins in this hoard are, for the most part, worn, it seems plausible to assume that they were used in the circulation area of the Dobruja where they were found. The Dobruja was a source of wheat for Byzantium and aside from the above suggested reasons for the presence of the hoard in the Dobruja, it is more than likely that the majority of the coins entered the area because of the normal trade purchases made throughout the period.

The large chronological gap in the hoard from the reign of Maurice Tiberius (582-602), to Basil I and Constantine (869-879), is most difficult to analyze, but it is here that the hoard can shed some light on the overall history of the Dobruja during this period. Not many coins from the intervening years appeared in hoards from this area. McA. Mosser listed a small hoard from Anchialus, Bulgaria, which consisted of a gold tremissis of Justinian I and six bronze coins of Anastasius II (713-716).<sup>39</sup> He also listed another small hoard from Cazitchane, Bulgaria, which included a bronze coin of Theophilus (829-842), a bronze of John Zimisceus (969-979), a silver coin of Urash of Serbia (1242-1276), and some five Roman bronze coins as well as an earring made of silver.<sup>40</sup> Aside from these two hoards, McA. Mosser lists, for the general area of the Dobruja, only bronze coin hoards which include an occasional specimen from the period lacking in the hoard under discussion. Gold coin hoards which have generally the same representation as this one for the period before Maurice Tiberius and after Basil I and Constantine are quite abundant in McA. Mosser's Bibliography.<sup>41</sup>

It is significant to note that the period which covers the

<sup>38</sup> This argument of Kazhdan is refuted in an article by Speros Vryonis, "An Attic Hoard of Byzantine Gold Coins," (668-741), *Melanges G. Ostrogorsky I*, Belgrad, 1963. Of course this small hoard by the absence of seventh century Byzantine gold, doesn't prove there was an urban decline in this period. It suggests this may have been so, but it also supports Vryonis and Ostrogorsky who maintain there was a change in monetary policy in the period.

<sup>39</sup> McA. Mosser, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, see the hoards listed on pp. 8, 9, 15, 44. Most of the bronze hoards found in the Dobruja area are from the Comneni Dynasty.



time gap in the hoard also approximates the period of the Iconoclast Crisis (711-843) and the period of warfare between Byzantium and Bulgaria. With the onset of the argument over icons came a series of foreign incursions into Byzantine territory. Most notable of these military invasion were the activities of the Arabs and the Bulgarians. The latter group is more important to this report as it is possible to trace imperial rivalry between Byzantium and Bulgaria with the ravaging of the Constantinople area by the forces of the Bulgar Khan Tervel in 713.<sup>42</sup> This conflict between Byzantium and the Bulgars was heightened during the reign of Constantine V (741-775), and the wars continued throughout the rest of the eighth century.<sup>43</sup> The successes of Constantine V against the Bulgars allowed Byzantium to reorganize its Balkan themes under Nicephorus I. But Nicephorus was unsuccessful in subduing the Bulgars who were enjoying increasing power under their leader Krum. (On July 26, 811, Nicephorus was slain by Krum.) Krum also caused Leo V great anxiety until the former died in 814. Leo V was able to arrange a thirty year peace with the new Bulgar Khan Dmurtag. Eventually the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars culminated in a realization of hostilities and under the reign of Basil (867-886), the Bulgarian Church became associated with Byzantine Church in Constantinople. Trade and commerce were to flow under more peaceful circumstances between Byzantine and Bulgaria, and hence Byzantium and the Dobruja, for several centuries to come.

This period of Byzantine-Bulgarian warfare coincides with the time gap in the hoard. Although the hoard doesn't provide conclusive proof that trade, especially with gold solidi as the form of money, stopped during the period of the seventh and eighth centuries, it does indicate that such a deduction is possible. This deduction is further strengthened by the fact few Danubian area hoards included gold coins of the period under discussion.<sup>44</sup> Thus in the over-all picture of the history of the Dobruja the hoard does indicate the definite possibility that commerce diminished in the Dobruja during the period of the Iconoclast Controversy and the Byzantine-Bulgarian Wars.

It is also conceivable that these coins were part of a coin

<sup>42</sup> G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 1956, p. 136.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

<sup>44</sup> See McA. Mosser, Laurent, and Mitrea for their listings of hoard finds. *The Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Leipzig, 1892-1964, part III, Abteilung 5 and 8 lists all published notices pertinent to Byzantine numismatics.

collection that was assembled in the Renaissance. This would account for the wide chronological range of the hoard. However, noticeable gaps in the hoard, the duplications as well as the fact that four specimens were pierced, make it rather unlikely that this group of coins was someone's collection.<sup>45</sup>

Instead the holed coins suggest that they may have adorned a dowry head piece of a native woman of the period just prior to the hoard's burial. This makes even more sense when the association with the gold ring and earrings is made. The possibility that this was a savings hoard becomes more and more evident with the inclusion of the jewelry to this hoard. D. Teodory described a hoard of similar earrings which was found in 1926. The style and fabric of the pieces in this hoard are similar to Teodory's which he attributes to jewelry types of the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>46</sup> It would appear that such large and heavy earrings were not only an ostentatious form of adornment, but also a convenient way to carry one's wealth. As they were undoubtedly quite valuable at the time, it is not surprising that many of the hoards of coins found in association with Byzantine coins include such items of jewelry.

In time of emergency during antiquity and the Middle Ages the usual way to secure one's valuables was to bury them. Thus it must have been with this hoard. The heavy wear on the most recent coin would indicate that the hoard was buried sometime between 1350-1450.<sup>47</sup> This was the period of Turkish encroachment in the Balkans as well as the fall of Constantinople itself.<sup>48</sup> Assuming this burial to be true and also to assume that the wear of the coins was due to commercial circulation throughout the chronological range of the coins, the

<sup>45</sup> The possible argument that this board is in reality two hoards is discounted on the insistence of the owner that the coins were all found together at one spot.

<sup>46</sup> D. Teodory, "Ornaments Found in Boinyesti," *Dacia*, New Series, 1961, p. 515. (This article is in Russian and it is well-illustrated.) It was not possible to find illustrations of the finger ring nor to compare the earrings with similar earrings found in conjunction with other Byzantine hoards.

<sup>47</sup> It is very difficult to date this hoard with any degree of accuracy. All that can be said about its burial is that it must have occurred some time after the minting of the most recent coin in the hoard. This would be the nomisma of Andronicus II and Michael IX, 1295-1320. Since it was well-worn, a date somewhere between 1350 and 1450 for the burial would be reasonable.

<sup>48</sup> Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 489. Ostrogorsky relates the Battle of the Plain of Rovine when the Dobruja finally fell to the Turks. He confirms the date of May 17, 1395, for the battle—a date probably close to this hoard's burial.

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following summation of hoard's importance can be offered.

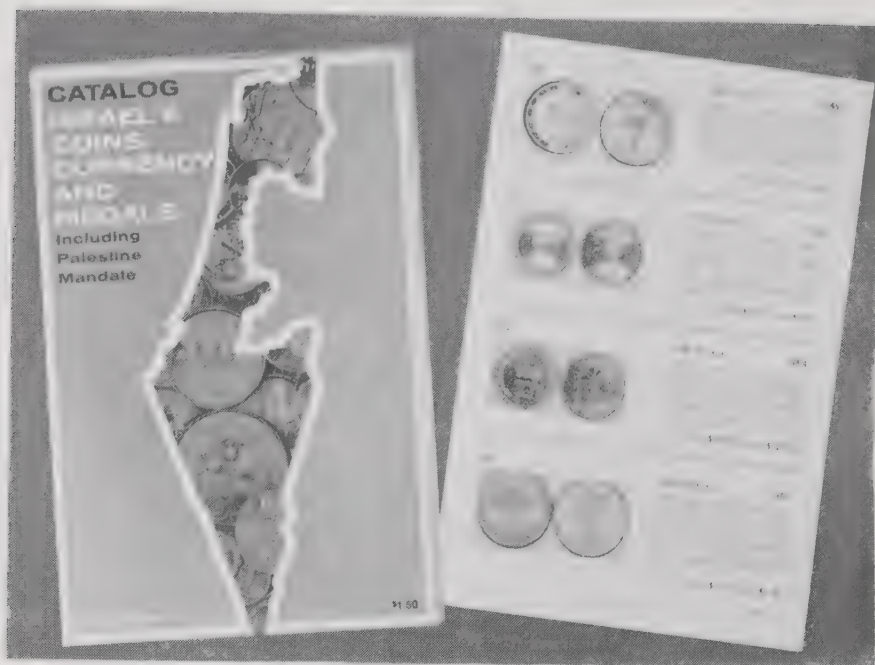
As it is apparent from the above discussion, this hoard can neither be conveniently dated as to burial nor to a specific event which would have necessitated burial. The coins, themselves, offered no new information as to numismatic minutiae of importance. The only pieces in this regard were the peculiarly punch-marked solidus of Theodosius (coin No. 1) and this may be a mutilation of the coin rather than an official or even semi-official punch mark or grafitti. The solidus of Constantine VII and Romanus (coin No. 16) also has a mark which may be nothing more than a test cut to determine the genuineness of the gold.

The real significance of this hoard is undoubtedly in its suggestion that the coins were, indeed, circulated in the Dobruja. The fact that there are several wide chronological gaps within the hoard simply adds to the known patterns of Balkan commerce which suffered with the vicissitudes of the frequent invasions that plagued the Dobruja region in particular. The hoard thus intimates that the last owner before the hoard's burial was a person of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century who accumulated a gold piece here, a gold ornament there, and at one unknown moment of history, this individual buried the coins and jewelry on the hills south of the Danube near Kalipetrovo. In doing so he preserved a small kernel of monetary history that requires further archeological investigation to be more meaningful.

The hoard suggests, as do the several similar ones found in the Lower Danube region, that the Durostorum-Silistra-Kalipetrovo area was indeed a most important commercial center from earliest Greek times down through Byzantine times. It is not altogether ultra-romantic to suppose that another great site find to rival those of Corinth and Athens awaits the archeologist's spade. If nothing else can be said about this hoard, it certainly does indicate the need for further archeological exploration of the Dobruja, an area that has produced some of the strangest hoards of Byzantine coins.

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## Book Reviews

Kraay, C. M. and Hirmer, Max, GREEK COINS, Harry N. Abrams Inc., New York, 1966. 396 pp. + 220 plates + 4 maps. \$25.00

The physical size of this book (32 x 24 cms) precludes the appellation, handbook. The coinages of the Greek world were so vast in scope, both geographical and historical, that it is also difficult to see how any general survey of Greek coins could be in any way complete and competent and still compressed in a book any smaller than this one.

Competence and completeness perhaps best describe the nature and content of this book. Kraay, who has written the textual materials, is without question one of the foremost living numismatists. Consequently the introductory material, both historical and numismatic is trustworthy and current. It is not oversimplified.

Hirmer has been responsible for the photography. Here there is the vast work of an artist, for the two hundred and twenty plates illustrate over eight hundred individual coins, many of them with both obverse and reverse shown. There are an additional 20 plates illustrating Greek gold coins, in color.

This reviewer feels that the production of this book was an immense undertaking. It seeks to discuss and describe, using the finest specimens of each coin, the entire world of Greek coinage in gold and silver. Many books have undertaken this project in the past—none has ever come so close to a realization of its ultimate ideal.

The organization of the book follows the traditional method first established by Head. It begins in Spain and circumnavigates the Mediterranean ending up in Africa. Kraay writes an introduction to each of the geographical areas wherein he discusses the ethnic and cultural antecedents of the peoples in that area. He discusses their coins from the historic, artistic and cultural backgrounds. The plates then illustrate these factors with the appropriate coins.

The book could be a text, for it possesses sufficient information to compose a sound college course on Greek numismatics. The book could be a jewel among the beautiful illustrated books of artifacts from the classical period. It could, and perhaps should be, *the* handbook of Greek numismatics for every collector and numismatist. It should be on the shelf of every person who has an interest in Greek life. It should not be on the shelf of every coin collector—it should rather be open in front of him constantly.

Having already justly praised this mighty work, this reviewer feels compelled to point out that in addition to its general index it also contains indices of personal names, geographical sites and types. Each geographical section has a lengthy bibliography of standard works and the book closes with a general bibliography of Greek numismatics.

Truly this is a monumental work.

JOHN HARTMAN

MUSEUM NOTES XII, American Numismatic Society, New York, 1966. 232 pp. + 59 plates.

Readers familiar with the Numismatic Society's publications are aware that MUSEUM NOTES appears at irregular intervals and that it contains articles of a shorter nature based on acquisitions of the Society's cabinet. This reviewer tends to regard MUSEUM NOTES as the American version of the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE and feels that this latest issue fully justifies such a comparison.

Perhaps the foremost article is the publication by Dorothy Cox of



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**KRAAY, Dr. Colin M.:** Greek Coins. For this most interesting and attractive book 809 coins were especially photographed (in many cases both the obverse and reverse types), with superb results. There is an introductory text and full notes are given on each of the coins illustrated.  
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Gordion hoards III, IV and VII. The excavations at Gordion have been progressing already for a number of years and it will be better than a decade before they are complete and longer before all the material can be assembled, correlated, analyzed and published. In the meantime, the excellent precedent set by the Numismatic Society of publishing hoards as they came to light at Dura, has been continued here. (As some readers may be aware Hoard VI has been published by Bellinger in *ESSAYS IN GREEK COINAGE PRESENTED TO STANLEY ROBINSON* and that Hoard II which consists of Persian Sigloi has not yet been published). Ever since Ghirshamm shocked the world with his attack on the Herodotus passages which gave to Lydia the honor of the first coins based on the foundation deposits at Persepolis, the question of the origin of coinage in the West has been held in abeyance. The discoveries at Gordion may very well, when fully analyzed, make it possible for numismatics to draw conclusions on this perplexed question.

Margaret Thompson publishes a hoard of coins from Northern Greece, this group consisting of well known Macedonian and new style Athenian coins. Miss Thompson also writes about some noteworthy Greek accessions.

Professor Bellinger undertakes the Byzantine notes which comprise 14 separate headings, too lengthy to summarize here, but worthwhile to point out to serious Byzantine students.

J. Peter Stein makes a philological excursion into Plautus to attempt to show that the word "trinummus" as used by him does not constitute a Roman understanding of tetradrachm in terms of the denarius.

Mando Caramessini-Oeconomides, who contributes two articles, has written an extremely interesting note on the subject of a Hoard of Plated Roman coins which were found in a Roman cistern on the south slope of the Acropolis at Athens. She points out that L. Lawrence asked in a paper written in 1940 why with so many plated coins, no Cistophori were ever found. Since this hoard of coins yielded 16 plated Cistophori, Mrs. Caramessini-Oeconomides concludes that perhaps it has also answered Lawrence's question.

For Byzantinists, Mrs. Caramessini-Oeconomides and Joan Fagerlie publish a new Solidus and Follis of Justinian in two respective articles.

For medievalists, Miss Thompson discusses a Greek monogram of Charlemagne and George Miles publishes the Ferreira collection of Visigothic coins. Paul Bedoukian an ACCA member who is known to most as the author of the definitive monograph on the Coinage of Cilician Armenia, here discusses the Baronial period (1080-1198) of that place.

While in the ancient East, Mr. Miles discusses a hoard of Kakhwayhid Dirhems and Raymond Hebert who has already appeared here and who has an article in this issue writes on an Umayyad hoard from Khurasan.

Harry W. Hazard concludes the ancient and medieval portions of this issue with an article on Late Medieval North Africa. JOHN HARTMAN

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# The Agora and the Forum

In Athens men met in the Agora and in Rome, affairs of business and state were debated in the Forum. So "Voice of the Turtle" asks that members write us their views. These will be published for open consideration and discussion.

Recently I received an invitation to exhibit at a nearby coin show. On the sheet showing the categories, they had placed ancient coins, odd and curious money, medals, tokens, medieval coins and miscellaneous all in a single category. The same club had given five separate categories to U.S., foreign coins and currency.

Should not ancient coins, covering 1600 years and having innumerable denominations, types and varieties have equal footing and a separate category? Is there some action which we of the ACCA can take to overcome this slight to our scholarly pastime? Only at the very large conventions do I see ancient coins given an equal status with other coin collections.

C. W. BEHNEN

I recently took advantage of an opportunity to have several of my Palestinian coins examined by x-ray fluorescence. Although for this very limited study only one coin of each type was used, the coin surfaces were not specially cleaned, and it was not feasible to set up calibration curves, one interesting fact did emerge on which I should be interested in comments by other ACCA members.

The half chalcus of Antichus VII struck in 132 or 131 B.C. for use in Jerusalem is often assumed to have been minted in that city (e.g. A. Kindler in *The Dating and Meaning of Ancient Jewish Coins and Symbols*, Jerusalem, 1958 states that this was probably the case). X-ray fluorescence measurements on my coin of this type, however, indicated that it contains a significant amount of zinc, while this element could not be detected in any of the Jewish coins examined, viz. Reifenberg 6, 8, 14, 21, 31 and 147. Furthermore, the tin-copper ratio was much higher in the Antiochus coin than in any of the others. Although it would be desirable to confirm these results on other specimens of this half chalcus and on a number of leptons of John Hyrcanus I, my findings would suggest that the Antiochus coin was not actually minted in Jerusalem. Perhaps some reader knows if zinc has been found in other copper coinage of Antiochus VII, and if it has ever been reported as being present in Hasmonaean coinage.

CHARLES G. INMAN

## RESULTS OF THE ANCIENT COIN CLUB OF AMERICA—MAIL BID AUCTION #19.

This auction was to some extent exploratory by the new auctioneer and a list of but 50 lots was offered to some 200 members. From this mailing 55 bidders responded with a total of 312 bids on the individual lots. To the successful bidders went 33 lots for higher than the estimated value and 15 lots were bid in at less than the estimate. Bids on lot 5 failed to exceed the reserve, and no bid was received on lot #27.

Should any member desire copies of the bid list for auction #19 a stamped & self addressed envelope will bring a copy.

The list of coins for auction #20 will be sent out in the latter part of December and closing date will be January 30th, 1967.

If you do not have a copy, and wish one, a post-card request will bring it. Meantime look over your collection for coins that you would like to dispose of and get them ready for the next auction.

### HAROLD ROEPE, AUCTIONEER.

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#### PRICES REALIZED AUCTION #19

LOT	BID	LOT	BID	LOT	BID	LOT	BID
1	32.50	15	4.30	29	6.00	40	6.50
2	7.50	16	3.50	30	6.00	41	7.00
3	35.50	17	11.50	31	10.60	42	7.00
4	4.50	18	8.00	32	2.75	43	3.05
5	RES.	19	15.00	33	5.00	44	4.00
6	5.00	20	35.00	34	1.75	45	3.60
7	3.00	21	4.00	35	6.50	46	3.00
8	4.10	22	.65	36	5.00	47	8.00
9	3.00	23	5.25	37	2.00	48	8.00
10	2.80	24	6.00	38	7.00	49	4.00
11	1.25	25	2.75	39	5.50	50	5.00
12	5.00	26	6.60	<b>HAVE YOU COINS TO SUBMIT?</b>			
13	4.05	27	NO BID				
14	7.50	28	30.00				

## CLUB NEWS

Member Curtis Runnels of Kansas recently addressed the Humboldt, Kansas Rotary Club. His subject? Ancient coins, naturally. Curtis is a high school student, one of the ACCA's youngest members, and the Rotarians were very impressed with his knowledge.

As far as we know, our very youngest member is Jay Gardner of Quincy, Illinois who is, we believe, 12. He is trying to organize a local chapter in his area and welcomes names of interested persons.

The Southern California chapter of the ACCA held its first meeting in November and had the largest turnout we've heard of yet. It's open to all members from Los Angeles to San Diego, and if you haven't been contacted yet, please write or call Joel Malter for details of the next meeting.

Joseph Sternberg of Newark, New Jersey recently won an award for his exhibit of ancients. It seems that the judges are beginning to come around to the ACCA's way of thinking.

In New York the local chapter has drafted a constitution and elected officers. Their October speaker gave a talk on forgeries and displayed nearly 200 examples. Incidentally, an article, with pictures, will appear on forgeries in a forthcoming issue of the *Turtle*. Anyone in the New York area who wishes to attend the monthly meetings should contact Cyrus Elliott, 21 Overlook Road, Hasting-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10706.

Chicago area members who have been unable to attend meetings because of the time and or day are requested to call Alyce Cresap, MI 2-8042, and suggest times which they believe would be more suitable. If better arrangements can be made, so that more can attend, the chapter members now in attendance will be more than glad to try to make an adjustment.

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## NEW HOARD FOUND IN ITALY

Archaeologists from the American Academy in Rome and Columbia University have reported the discovery of a hoard of 2,004 Roman coins in the ancient city of Cosa, in Etruria. The find consists of silver denarii and contains specimens from the earliest issues in the late 3rd century B. C. down to 72 B. C., the year the city was abandoned or destroyed.

The coins were found in a round, handleless, pottery jug which had been buried by its owner under the floor of a closet. The site, which had been plowed over and levelled, was being thoroughly investigated preparatory to the building of a museum.

It is expected that the find, the largest of its kind in this century, will serve to explain much of what is unknown about Cosa and its fate. The coins, valued at more than \$200,000, automatically became the property of the Italian government.

—From the *Dayton (O.) Daily News*, 10-16-66.

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2. Mail Subscriptions	750	989
C. Total Paid Circulation	750	989
D. Free Distribution (including samples)		
by mail carrier or other means	50	47
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	800	1036
F. Office Use, Left-Over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing	1200	964
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Alyce Cresap, Managing Editor.

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